

THE  
**ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,**

UNDER THE SANCTION OF  
THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Vol. 9. No. 5.—New Series.]

MAY 1, 1861.

{Price Fourpence Stamped  
Threepence Unstamped

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Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—We find, that in our last we fell into a grave error in our notice of the correspondence about the chief Ogubonna's slave-boy. We are informed, that Ogubonna, to his honour, refused the compensation-money sent by the proprietor of *The British Workman*, to purchase the lad, and nobly gave him his liberty. This he did out of regard for the opinion of his English friends.

On Tuesday, March 27th, a special meeting of the Committee and friends of the *Newcastle and Gateshead Anti-Slavery Society* was held in the Vestry of the New Court Chapel, to welcome Mr. William Shreve Bailey, editor and proprietor of *The Free South*, on a visit to England; the Rev. James Pringle in the Chair. Mr. Pringle having, in a few telling sentences, introduced Mr. Bailey, the latter proceeded to give an interesting account of his connection with the press at Newport, Kentucky, first as contributor of certain anti-slavery articles, and ultimately as proprietor and editor of the journal in which his articles had appeared. The amount of persecution brought down upon him by his faithful denunciation of the evils of Slavery was sufficient to dishearten a man of ordinary courage; but he was able, for a time, to make head against the difficulties he had to encounter. His fidelity, however, to the cause of the slave, and the destruction of his house and property by an incendiary pro-slavery mob, had

so impoverished him, that he is compelled to make an appeal to the benevolent sympathies of Englishmen. Resolutions to this effect were passed unanimously. In another column will be found further particulars of Mr. Bailey's case.

A few months ago two men of colour—Mr. Lewis Smith and the Rev. Babba Gross—arrived in this country from America, to solicit aid for the purpose of redeeming from Slavery the four children of Smith, who were slaves in one of the Southern States of America. An appeal was made to the Wesleyan body and to other religious dissenting denominations of religion. The sum asked for ransoming the four individuals was 5000 dollars, or about 1000*l*. Several meetings were held in the country and in the metropolis to promote the object in view, and instead of 1000*l*., double that amount was collected in voluntary contributions. This sum was handed to Mr. Smith, who was extremely thankful. The object sought by this act will not only be accomplished, but there will remain an ample sum to redeem the sister of Mr. Smith from Slavery, and to purchase a small patch of ground in Ohio, where the family intend to settle down. Mr. Smith, with the Rev. Babba Gross, have left this country to enjoy their liberty in the State above mentioned.\*

\* We condense the above from the *Morning Star*. Without wishing to say a word in disparagement of Messrs. Smith and Gross, we should have felt more satisfied to learn that the large sum raised had been placed in the hands of trustees in London, who could have controlled its appropriation.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

The proceedings in Parliament have not been particularly important. A detailed record will be found in another column. Mr. Gregory gave notice of a motion for the 16th ultimo, subsequently postponed to the 30th, on the expediency of a prompt recognition of the Confederate States. This was followed by a notice of an amendment, by Mr. W. E. Forster, to the effect that such a recognition should not be made, without security against the revival of the African slave-trade. Mr. Gregory also asked Lord John Russell a question respecting the rumoured annexation to Spain, of that part of the island of St. Domingo under Santana. Lord John Russell declared that no official information to this effect had been received. Mr. W. E. Forster took another opportunity to ask the same Minister what Power had refused to join the Slave-trade Congress proposed by Government last year, and its reasons for the refusal. Lord John replied that the United States' Government had declined to send a delegate, and further information would be given in a few days, by the publication of further slave-trade papers. In answer to a question by Mr. C. Buxton, Lord John also stated that the expedition up the Gambia had been undertaken with the approbation of the Home Government.

On the 29th ultimo, in the House of Lords, in reply to the Earl of Malmesbury, Lord Wodehouse stated that no "officious" communication had passed between the Governments of Great Britain and the United States, relatively to the present crisis in that country, but it was the earnest wish of the former that existing differences might be amicably adjusted.

On the same evening, in the House of Commons, and in answer to a question from Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr. Gregory stated, that in deference to the wishes of Lord John Russell, he had concluded to defer for a fortnight his motion respecting the recognition by the British Government of the Confederate States.

On Thursday evening, the 18th ultimo, a meeting was held at the offices of the *Young Men's Christian Association*, 165 Aldersgate Street, for the purpose of raising a fund to provide a church and schoolhouse for the escaped slaves at Hamilton, Canada West. The Earl of Shaftesbury presided, and called on the Rev. Mr. Kinnard, a man of colour, and a Missionary to the negroes, who pointed out the horrors of Slavery in the United States, and commented on the difference between English and American laws, and the happiness of enjoying the freedom of living in Canada. The native intelligence of the blacks would be developed by schools, and made equal by education to their fellow-creatures. Addresses were delivered by the

Rev. W. Wilson, the Rev. P. H. Carr, Mr. C. Baines, and other gentlemen. In replying to a vote of thanks for presiding, the Earl of Shaftesbury said he was always happy to assist in forwarding the well-being and happiness of his fellow-creatures. It had long been held in this Christian country that Slavery was wrong; and the events depicted in recent popular works were not at all exaggerated. He could not think that the black man was inferior to the white man; and, with equal advantages of education and opportunity, they would fairly run the race of life against their white brethren. England had much to do with the matter; but the country now did all it could to suppress Slavery, and alleviate the miseries and hardships to which the blacks were subjected. After the benediction, a collection was made at the doors.\*

The Commissioners Extraordinary of the Southern Confederation have arrived in England. Their names will be found in another paragraph. One came direct to Liverpool; the others arrived by the last West-India Mail.

CHINA.—At Canton a tragedy had occurred on board the vessel *Leonidas*. This vessel was about to sail with a cargo of Coolies, shipped by the French emigration office, and was lying at anchor three miles below the Macao Fort. While the officers and men were at breakfast, about nine o'clock, the Coolies rose and attempted to murder all the Europeans on board, and to set fire to the ship. Owing to the promptitude of Captain Wood, seconded by his officers and men, the Coolies were overcome, and the fire was quenched. Mrs. Wood had a narrow escape for her life. Assistance was obtained, and the gunboat *Weasel* towed back the *Leonidas* to her former anchorage opposite the Sha-meen. The matter was undergoing investigation by both foreign and Chinese authorities. Of the 290 Coolies on board, about 90 were missing, who, having jumped overboard, had been drowned or had escaped. Among eight Europeans who were more or less hurt in the affray, the third officer, Mr. Tucker, was dangerously wounded.

INDIA.—The Governor-General has taken the initiative of measures to promote an increased supply of cotton from India; a step which will afford great satisfaction to all classes. He advises the immediate improvement of the roads and water-ways between the cotton districts already under cultivation and the ports of shipment, and pro-

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\* Mr. Kinnard is well recommended to this country, and the object of his mission is worthy of support.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

mises to push forward with increased activity the public works already undertaken, as well as to promote the rapid settlement of the land-tenure question.

LIMA.—The *Panama Star and Herald* of the 26th February last, says that a vessel with 600 Chinese emigrants had arrived in Callao lately, who were being offered for sale, and would fetch 300 to 400 dollars a head. These poor people had many contracts to serve eight years at five dollars per month, which contracts are sold to the highest bidder. The treatment of these men in the plantations is represented as horrible. They get scanty and bad food; are frequently cheated out of their wages; are put in irons and lashed for trifling offences, often when they are unable to work on account of illness, in which case they never get medical attendance: thus they are forced to work until they die of exhaustion. Their overseers are generally former slaves, negroes and mulattoes, who find a pleasure in inflicting the same or greater tortures than those they have had to suffer themselves before; and thus one may imagine what terrible lot awaits these poor Coolies in Peru. Slaves are much better treated, because slaves are property which lose in value if deteriorated by bad treatment; but out of the wretched Chinaman they try to get as much work as possible in these eight years, no matter if he die or not. They have no protection whatever from such a corrupt Government as the Peruvian. A few days before, sixty Chinamen fled from a plantation to Lima, and went straight to the Intendente, in order to complain of the cruel treatment they received. The Intendente sent them all immediately back to the plantation, and lodged those whom he called the ringleaders in jail.

UNITED STATES.—The latest advices from the United States record the outbreak of hostilities. On the 13th ult., Fort Sumter, held by Major Anderson, was attacked by the Secessionist troops, under General Beauregard; and after a bombardment which lasted twenty-four hours, and was vigorously responded to, surrendered unconditionally. No loss of life had occurred on either side, nor had any of the combatants been wounded. Major Anderson had become the guest of his antagonist. The United States' fleet of relief reached the harbour too late to take any part in the collision. Great excitement prevailed in Washington, which, it was currently believed, would soon be attacked. A similar state of feeling existed in the North. We learn from private sources that the citizens of Cincinnati are preparing to unite with the inhabitants of Covington and Newport, Kentucky, to defend the United States' barracks, should the Secessionists attempt to attack them.

The Southern Commissioners to Washing-

ton had returned to Montgomery, bearing Mr. Seward's rejection of their offer to treat with reference to the national troubles.

The Hon. Messrs. Preston, Stuart, and Randolph, Commissioners from the Virginia State Convention to the President, had been received by Mr. Lincoln on the 13th ult., when, in reply to their Memorial, requesting to receive positive assurances as to the intended policy of the Government, he referred them to his inaugural address, in which he asserted his determination to use his power to hold Federal property and places, and to collect the revenue, but without invasion or force. He added, however, that in the event of the Confederate States making an unprovoked assault upon any of these places—Fort Sumter to wit—he should repel force by force, and endeavour to repossess himself of places that may have been captured. He would also—in the event of actual war—withdraw the mails from the Seceding States; and he stated further, that he considered the military posts and property situated within the States which claim to have seceded, as belonging to the United-States' Government, just as much as they did before secession.

The President had issued a proclamation calling out 75,000 of the militia of the several States, to suppress the combinations against the laws of the United States, in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, and to repossess the forts, places, and property which have been seized from the Union. He also convenes a session extraordinary of Congress, to assemble on Thursday, the 4th of July, to consider and determine such measures as, in its wisdom, the public safety and interest may seem to demand.

Efforts were being made to concentrate a large force around Washington, in anticipation of an attack; and the public buildings and approaches to the capital were numerously guarded.

It is alleged that Major Anderson did not surrender Fort Sumter until a flag of truce had been despatched from the fleet of relief, outside the bar, inquiring if the revolutionists would consent to allow the Major to evacuate into a vessel of the fleet, a proposition which was agreed to. The Government is represented as being much dissatisfied with the conduct of the fleet in not making a demonstration.

Official advices from Montgomery indicate a vigorous policy on the part of the Confederate Government. They are greatly elated at their success at Fort Sumter, and vast preparations were making for defensive and offensive measures. It is said that the Confederate Congress would declare war as soon as it assembles, but in act will discriminate between alien friends and alien enemies. In the former class are included the Border



Slave States, and all at the North who oppose the policy of the Lincoln Government. These, they assert, will be exempt from all the penalties of war. Over 20,000 volunteers are asserted to be enrolled at Montgomery from the Border States, ready to march at a minute's notice. This number, it was expected, would be multiplied almost indefinitely, if required. Five Irish regiments from the North had tendered their services, which were accepted.

Information continued to be received from private sources of secret plots in various localities in Maryland and Virginia, having in view the seizure of the public property and even persons, the highest officers of the Government. Though these accounts were not generally credited, they were believed in official quarters, and hence the precautionary movements.

Information had been received to the effect that the Secessionists of Delaware, whose head-quarters are in Virginia, were about to make a sudden attack upon Fort Delaware, opposite Delaware city, for which they were preparing last month. Immediate steps were taken by the Secretary-of-War to prevent the consummation of the plot.

If the *New-York Herald* is to be credited, any amount of money will be obtainable to enable the Federal Government to carry on the war; but enormous failures of houses connected with the South were anticipated.

The Government of the Southern Confederacy had appointed the Hon. William Yansey, of Alabama, Judge Rost, of Louisiana, Colonel Mann, and Mr. Butler King, of Georgia, as Special Commissioners, to proceed to England and France for the purpose of obtaining the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States, and to make such commercial arrangements as their joint interests may require.

Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Cotton Republic, had made a speech at Atlanta, Georgia, on the superiority of the Constitution of the new Confederacy over that of the United States. The following is a pithy extract:

"A grand difference between the old and new Constitution was this," said Mr. Stephens: "in the old Constitution, the fathers looked upon the fallacy of the equality of races as underlying the foundations of republican liberty. Jefferson, Madison, Washington, and many others, were tender of the word slave in the organic law, and all looked forward to the time when the institution of Slavery should be removed from our midst as a trouble and a stumbling-block. The delusion could not be traced in any of the component parts of the Southern Constitution. In that instrument, we solemnly discarded the pestilent heresy of fancy politicians, that all men, of all races, were equal, and we had made African inequality and subordination, and the equality of white men, the chief corner-stone of the Southern Republic."

At a recent meeting at the *Church of the Puritans*, New-York, a Cherokee Indian, named the Rev. White Cloud, was refused a collection, on the ground that, according to his own shewing, he upheld the views of the *American Board*, and admitted slave-owners to communion.

**WEST INDIES.**—The news from the West Indies by the last three mails, is—with one important exception—devoid of interest; and that item of intelligence refers to a foreign island.

In JAMAICA considerable excitement had been created by the passing of a Bill admitting foreign molasses from Cuba, and coffee from Hayti. The new Immigration Bill had also caused dissatisfaction, especially one clause of it, which puts it out of the power of small holders to profit by the introduction of foreign labour, as only a certain number of hands are to be allotted. The Governor was very unpopular. He had closed the Legislative Assembly, which during its last session seems to have frittered away its time in personal discussions. The planters object to the new Immigration Bill that it will not bring in the necessary number of immigrants, as only 2500 a-year are to be introduced.

The *Falmouth Post* encourages the idea of capitalists establishing cotton-farms in Jamaica, because "thousands of industrious, respectable families would emigrate" thither. The success, therefore, of any such speculations would depend upon the "immigration" of labourers from various parts: rather a precarious prospect for shareholders in West-India Cotton-growing Companies. The Committee, however, appointed to consider what means should be adopted to promote the cultivation of cotton in Jamaica, have recommended the offering of a prize of 100*l.* to any person who shall, within eighteen months from date, grow, prepare for market, and bring to a shipping-port, a parcel of the best cotton, not less than 5000 pounds in weight, the quality to be determined by such persons in Liverpool as the Managing Committee of the Commercial Exchange in Kingston shall appoint; the successful competitor to leave with the Secretary of the Executive Committee a full and clear account in writing of the manner of cultivating the plant, and the cost of cleaning, fencing, and planting the land, and cleaning or hoeing and moulding the plants, gathering, ginning, or hand-picking the cotton, and of conveying the same to a port of shipment; with any observations as to the attacks upon the plants, and the means adopted for their destruction, previous to the receipt of the premium. The recommendation was adopted.

The Legislative Assembly had unanimously voted an Address to Her Majesty in Council, praying that the West-India Encumbered Estates' Act, 1854—58, shall come into force



in the island. This is another important step, from which the best results may be anticipated.

At SAINT DOMINGO—the eastern portion of the island known either by this name or as HAYTI—Santana, the President, has declared the same to be no longer a Republic, but to have become annexed to Spain. A Spanish squadron, with 3000 men, and war-material of every description, was daily expected; and it was reported that an army of occupation of 7000 men would be sent from Havana.

## PARLIAMENTARY RECORD.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(Monday, April 11th.)

#### RECOGNITION OF THE SOUTHERN STATES OF AMERICA.

MR. W. E. FORSTER gave notice, that on Tuesday, the 16th instant, when Mr. Gregory brought forward his motion as to the expediency of a prompt recognition of the Southern Confederacy, he should move "That this House does not at present desire to express an opinion in favour of the recognition of such Confederacy, and trusts that Her Majesty's Government will not make such recognition without obtaining due security against a renewal of the African slave-trade."

(Thursday, April 18th.)

#### ST. DOMINGO.

MR. GREGORY asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he had received any information of the occupation of any portion of the island of St. Domingo by the Spaniards, and if he had received any copies of any proclamation by Spanish officers relative thereto; and, if so, whether he would lay them upon the table of the House.

Lord J. RUSSELL said that Government had not received any account of the occupation of the island of St. Domingo. They had received a proclamation by the President of the Dominican Republic, in consequence of a meeting which took place, at which he declared that the Republic was thenceforth dissolved, and ordered that the Spanish flag should be immediately hoisted. They had also received an account of the departure of a Spanish vessel of war, with troops, from Cuba to St. Domingo, but they had no account of its arrival there. They had heard from their Minister at Madrid that probably the Spanish Government would not accept this grant of St. Domingo, but nothing official had been declared on that head. The Spanish Government had declared that they had not received any official information on the subject. In the present state of affairs he did not think it convenient for the public service to lay the papers on the table.

(Monday, April 22d.)

#### SLAVE-TRADE CONGRESS.

MR. W. E. FORSTER asked the Foreign Secretary whether the Conference of the Ambassadors and Ministers of the Courts of France, the

United States, Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, which, in his circular despatch to Her Majesty's Ministers at these Courts, dated the 11th of February 1860, he proposed should be held in London in the months of May or June of that year, to consider what measures could be taken to check the increase of the slave-trade, and finally provide for its total abolition, was held; and if not held in consequence of the refusal to attend such Conference by any of the above-mentioned Powers, whether he had any objection to state which Powers so refused, and on what reasons they based their refusals.

Lord J. RUSSELL was understood to state, in reply, that the Power which refused to attend the proposed Conference was the United States, and that, in consequence of that refusal, it was not thought expedient to proceed further in the matter. The papers would be laid on the table in a few days, and the House would then see the reasons upon which the Government of the United States based their refusal, as well as the precise answer which was given to them.

#### GAMBIA.

MR. BUXTON asked what the object was of the recent expedition from Gambia against a neighbouring chief; whether the expedition was authorized by Her Majesty's Government, and, if not, whether it had their approval.

MR. C. FORTESCUE said the chief referred to by the hon. gentleman was the head of the most powerful Mohammedan tribe on the Gambia, and, during the last two years, had given great cause of complaint, having been in the habit of plundering both natives and Europeans very much at his pleasure. Six months ago an officer was sent by the Government of Gambia to the court of this chief for the purpose of obtaining redress for the sufferers. That gentleman was dismissed with marks of personal disrespect. Thereupon the Governor proceeded, with the approbation of the Home Government, to blockade the port belonging to the chief, with the view of bringing him to terms; but that blockade, though persisted in for some months, did not produce the slightest effect. At last, in January, the force at Gambia was increased by the presence of a man-of-war, and by the arrival of West-India reliefs, and advantage was taken of that circumstance to organize an expedition against the offending chief. That expedition invaded his territory: it was conducted with great gallantry and success against an obstinate resistance, and, after a few days' warfare, it ended in bringing the chief to terms, and inducing him to sign a treaty with the Government at Gambia, making some reparation for the robberies he had committed, and binding himself to keep the peace for the future. The instructions given to the Governors on African stations were, that they should not engage in any considerable expedition without the consent of the Home Government; but in the present case it appeared to the Government that the object in view was a proper one; that the expedition had been admirably carried out; that the circumstances which enabled the Governor to organize it might not have occurred again; and that all his proceedings in the matter were deserving of approbation.



## HOUSE OF LORDS.

(Monday, April 23th.)

## DISSENSIONS IN THE AMERICAN STATES.

The Earl of MALMESBURY said: I have ventured to give private notice of my intention to ask this night of Her Majesty's Government, a question which concerns the entire of Europe. Your lordships must have seen, with pain and astonishment, that a civil war has broken out between the Seceded States and the American Union. Fortunately no blood has been shed, and too much praise cannot be given to the commander of the fleet, in that he abstained from what must have been fatal to both parties. Such a contest as is now apparent must have its effect on the rest of the civilized world, but no European country will suffer so much as our own from the consequences of this civil war. Apart from the feelings with which such a deplorable contest between peoples of the same race, the same language, and the same blood, must be regarded, there are particular considerations mixed up with it. I cannot believe but that Her Majesty's Government has made some attempt, by official means, to avert such a calamity, and I wish to ask what means they have taken with this view, and what hopes they entertain of success; and whether they are in correspondence with any European Government as to the best means of putting a stop to the civil war, which, if once begun, must be attended with fatal consequences.

Lord WODEHOUSE, in reply, said: We have seen, with deep concern, the divisions which have commenced in the United States, and that they are the first approach to a civil war. The question, whether any steps have been taken to avert this great calamity, is one which concerns not only Americans themselves, but also the entire of the civilized world. On mature consideration, Her Majesty's Government came to the opinion that they ought not to obtrude advice or counsel on the Government of the United States. However anxious we may be in the matter, we feel that a free and independent nation will not accept advice which has not been asked for. Under these circumstances, our instructions to Lord Lyons were, to express the wish of Her Majesty's Government that these differences should be arranged, but he is not commissioned to give any official or officious advice unless he be invited to do so.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(Monday, April 29th.)

## THE CONFEDERATED STATES OF AMERICA.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER asked the hon. member for Galway (Mr. Gregory) whether, after the news which had been received, he still intended to go on with his motion as to the recognition of the Confederate States of America.

Mr. GREGORY said that he had that day received a communication from the noble lord, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord John Russell), and he had seen the noble lord, who considered that at the present moment his going on with the motion might cause embarrassment to the public service. In deference to the wishes of the noble lord, and in deference to the

wishes of some friends of his own, he was prepared to postpone the motion for a fortnight. The noble lord informed him that he thought by that time it would be convenient for him to bring on the motion.

## PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

IN our last we had only room to advert, in our Summary, to the inaugural address of President Lincoln. It is our practice to record, in our columns, for convenience of future reference, such portions of the addresses of the Presidents of the American Union as bear directly upon the great question of Slavery, or upon kindred subjects arising out of it. At no antecedent period in the annals of that great Republic has a President spoken to the world under circumstances so momentous as are those which have elicited from Mr. Lincoln—the first President nominated by the political anti-slavery party in the States—the remarkable state-paper we consider it desirable to reprint in full, on account of its great importance. We leave it to speak for itself, reserving comment for another occasion. The inauguration took place on the 4th of March.

## INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES—

"In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the constitution of the United States to be taken by the President before he enters on the execution of his office.

"I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

"Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that, by the accession of a Republican administration, their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches, when I declare that 'I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of Slavery in the States where it exists: I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.' Those who nominated and elected me did so with a full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

"Resolved,—That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of

power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as the gravest of crimes.'

"I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the now incoming administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States, when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another.

"There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labour. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the constitution as any other of its provisions:

"No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.'

"It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole constitution, to this provision as much as any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves, whose cases come within the terms of this clause, 'shall be delivered up,' their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law, by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath? There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done. And should any one in any case be content that this oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept? Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and human jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man may not be, in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the constitution which guarantees that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?' I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules; and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having held them to be unconstitutional.

"It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our national

constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of the Government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task, for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted. I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and the constitution, the union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied if not expressed in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that government proper never had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself. Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of a contract merely, can it as a contract be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak—but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

"Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition, that, in legal contemplation, the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself.

"The Union is much older than the constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778; and finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the constitution was to form a more perfect Union. But if the destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less than before, the constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

"It follows from these views that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances. I therefore consider that, in view of the constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part. I shall perfectly perform it, so far as is practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisition, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

"In doing this there need be no bloodshed or



violence, and there shall be none, unless it is forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and collect the duties and imposts but beyond what may be necessary for these objects there will be no invasion—no using of force against or amongst the people anywhere.

"Where hostility to the United States shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people that object. While the strict legal right may exist of the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices."

"The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union.

"So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favourable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall shew a modification or change to be proper; and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to the circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections. That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny. But if there be such, I need address no word to them.

"To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not speak? Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be well to ascertain why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any portion of the ills you fly from that have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from? Will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution—certainly would if such right were a vital one. But such is not the case.

"All the vital rights of minorities and individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions, in the constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain,

express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labour be surrendered by national or by State authority? The constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect Slavery in the Territories? The constitution does not expressly say. From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities.

"If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the Government must cease. There is no alternative for continuing the Government but acquiescence on the one side or the other. If a minority in such a case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will ruin and divide them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority. For instance, why not any portion of a new confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this. Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to comprise a new Union as to produce harmony only and prevent renewed secession? Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.

"A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible. The rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible. So that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

"I do not forget the position assumed by some, that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding, in any case, upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government; and while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be over-ruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time the candid citizen must confess, that if the policy of the Government upon the vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions the people will have ceased to be their own, unless having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges.

"It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes. One section of our country believes Slavery is right, and ought

to be extended; while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute; and the fugitive slave clause of the constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases, after the separation of the sections, than before. The foreign slave-trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other. Physically speaking, we cannot separate—we cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war: you cannot fight always, and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you. This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact, that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, I freely recognise the full authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favour rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add, that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not specially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish themselves to accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the constitution—which amendment, however, I have not seen—has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconception of most I have said, I depart from my purpose, not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no

objection to its being made express and irrevocable. The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix the terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves also can do this if they choose, but the Executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present Government as it came to his hands, and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor. Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal—the American people. By the frame of the government under which we live, the same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years.

“My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject! Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time.

“If there be an object to hurry any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it, while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on him who has never yet forsaken this favoured land, are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty.

“In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to ‘preserve, protect, and defend’ it. I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.”



### THE FUGITIVE ANDERSON'S HISTORY.

THE following sketch of the early life and history of John Anderson, the fugitive slave, is taken from the *Toronto Weekly Globe* of the 22nd February. Our most recent intelligence of him was to the effect that he was in the care of friends, who intended to send him to England if any fresh attempt should be made to re-arrest him.

"John Anderson was born in the year 1831, in Howard County, Missouri. His mother was the slave of one Burton, a carpenter, who lived on a small farm near Fayette. His father, who was almost white, served as a steward on board a steamer which sailed on the Missouri, but made his escape to South America while Anderson was yet young. His mother remained with Burton till Anderson was seven years old, when she and her master quarrelled. Young Anderson was 'raised' by Mrs. Burton, of whom he speaks highly. He was brought up on the farm, and in process of time gained such a knowledge of farming that he undertook its management. Tobacco, wheat, and corn are the principal crops in that part of Missouri, and a sufficient quantity of stock is kept by every farmer. "Anderson acquired great proficiency in running, jumping, and other athletic amusements, usually practised by the slaves in the evening, which afterwards proved of great service to him. The slaves are allowed a week's holidays at Christmas, which, from Anderson's account, they seem to spend pleasantly. During this holiday season they frequently met in the evenings to sing and dance. Anderson, however, never delighted in dancing, not thinking it a proper amusement. Many of the slaves grew tobacco, &c., on their own account, and in this way some acquired sufficient means to purchase their freedom.

"Anderson is a Free-will Baptist by profession, and was a regular attendant on the services of that denomination. He never heard any ministers denouncing Slavery. Any who would do so would not be allowed to preach. When about twenty years of age he was married by a Free-will Baptist minister to a slave, the property of one Brown, who resided two miles from Burton's. After Mrs. Burton's death, Burton and Anderson had a dispute, which ended in his being sold to one M'Donald, who lived in Glasgow, thirty miles from Fayette. Being thus separated from his wife, Anderson was much discontented, and from this time he watched for an opportunity to make his escape to Canada, of which he had frequently thought before. M'Donald, who was a harder taskmaster than Burton, to prevent Anderson from going to see his wife, selected one for him from among his own slaves, but Anderson would not become a party to so dishonourable an arrangement. For his wife he always entertained great affection.

"In September 1853, when he had been about two months with M'Donald, he made his escape. M'Donald was at the church, investigating a case of a slave having been whipped to death, when Anderson rode off on one of his master's

mules to a branch of the Missouri, at a point where there was a ferry. The ferryman being under orders to prevent all slaves who had no passes from crossing, asked Anderson for his pass. Anderson replied that he did not require one, but the ferryman would not allow him to go over. Riding back with the mule into the woods, he remained there till it was evening, when he returned to the river. He was on the point of seizing a boat that was lying on the bank, when some one appearing, he was compelled to retreat into the woods, where he lay till within two hours of daybreak. He then ventured once more to the bank, and found a skiff, without oars, lying in the river. He supplied himself with a piece of bark, and, using this as a paddle, he got across the stream. He had now, for the first time, been in a boat. He then repaired to the house of his father-in-law, who was a free man and a barber by trade, and from him he obtained some refreshment. His father-in-law being told that he was on his way to Canada, offered Anderson a pistol, which he refused. He next visited his wife and child, and affectionately bidding them farewell, he went on his way, determined to obtain his freedom, which, from his youth up, he seems to have considered his inherent birthright. He had formed the resolve to sacrifice his liberty only with his life.

"It was about noon on the second day after his leaving M'Donald, that a man named Digges met him, and asked him for his pass. When Anderson said he had no pass, Digges, with his slaves, chased him, and in the conflict that ensued Digges was wounded, and Anderson escaped uninjured. About a week after his adventure with Digges, Anderson found shelter for the night in a barn, where he met a coloured boy, from whom he purchased some provisions. This boy told him that his sister had been sold by his master about a week before. At this Anderson's generous heart was moved, and by way of retaliation he determined to run away with one of the horses. But while he was endeavouring to carry out his purpose, the farmer mounted his horse and pursued Anderson, who escaped to a field where the man could not reach him. Anderson, however, was fired at, but sustained no damage. He usually travelled by night, and got what rest he could by day. He suffered much from want of food, sometimes not tasting any for several days, and often he had to content himself with corn, hazel-nuts, pawpaws, or raw potatoes. A dollar and a half was all the money he had when he started on his perilous journey, and of this he never spent any except when compelled to do so by extreme hunger.

"One day, while resting himself by the wayside, a man on horseback rode up and attempted to capture him, but Anderson fled to a neighbouring field, and found protection among the stalks of corn. In the evening he came back to the public road, and observed a fire in the woods not far distant. Imagining that some people were engaged husking corn, he went to the spot, and discovered that the man who had attempted to catch him during the day was lying in wait. Seeing at once that this was one of the numerous



expedients resorted to by slave pursuers, he took to flight, and afterwards carefully avoided falling into any such traps.

"Impelled by necessity to resort to any expedient to satisfy the cravings of hunger, he one day entered a farm-house by the kitchen-door, and finding some salt that was at hand, he put it in his pocket and walked out, meeting none of the inmates. He next came to a farm-yard, where he captured three chickens, and then retired to the woods that were close by. Lighting a fire, he cooked two of them, but had scarcely finished the second when he heard some footsteps, and naturally thinking that the owner of the chickens was in pursuit of him, he made his way out of the woods with the other chicken in his hand as soon as possible. This chicken served him for two days. Near Mississippi village he met with a coloured man, and gave him ten cents to buy some crackers for him. This man, in whom Anderson placed little confidence, after some delay, brought him the crackers, which he greedily devoured. He crossed the Mississippi by night, using for that purpose a boat which he found near the river, and keeping clear of the ferry for fear of detection. It was now Saturday night, and about two weeks since he had left M'Donald, and he had reached the free State of Illinois, but from the attempts made to capture him in this State, he was convinced that he was almost in as much danger there as he had been in Missouri.

"On Sunday night he went into the house of a white man, an Englishman, who gave him a good supper and a bed. He was prevented from sleeping for some time, having his suspicions excited by a gun which he saw in the room, thinking it might be used for overcoming such subjects as himself. As yet he reposed no confidence in any man, and distrusted equally all he saw. Weariness at last overcame his terror, and on waking in the morning he found himself much refreshed. His entertainer lent him a razor, by which he was enabled to indulge in the luxury of a shave. Having got breakfast, and after the good-hearted Englishman had prevailed on him to take some bread and apples in his pocket, John again set out with renewed strength and spirits. He soon met some men on horseback, who asked him for his pass, but he pretended to be free. The men, disbelieving him, pursued, but Anderson was too expert for them, and made his escape to a hill, the women calling out as he passed. In the evening he found himself by a small river, where he saw a canoe sunk. Seeing a dog some distance before him, he retreated into the woods, and struck another river. He there observed a boat crossing, but being afraid that his liberty might be endangered if he attempted to pass that way, he went back again into the bush. Having by this time consumed what the Englishman had given him, and having a keen appetite, he made an attempt to capture some chickens, but was unsuccessful. He came upon a white man's house, into which he entered, and pretended he had lost his way. Here he got his breakfast, and bought a loaf of bread from the housewife for ten cents. The farmer promised to direct him, but when

they were but a few yards from the house, Anderson, perceiving the man was leading him back, and seeing his sons some distance before him, took to flight. After two days he struck a branch of the Illinois river, which he crossed, and after proceeding some distance, he came to a railway track, with the use of which he was acquainted. He next came to Bloomington, where he obtained some provisions. He availed himself of the railway track for a short distance north of Bloomington. Confused and bewildered, he met a man who promised him a ride if he would help him with his cow. Anderson consented to do so, and rode with this man to a certain village, when he was requested to leave. After leaving the village, Anderson again encountered him, and accompanied him, notwithstanding his attempt to shun him. At this man's house he got his supper and a bed, and started early next morning before breakfast. Through some villages which he passed every one looked on him as a curiosity on account of his travel-stained condition—the children running to the doors to stare at him. In one farmhouse which he entered he had purchased a loaf of bread, when a man came in, at whom Anderson took fright and ran out, the housewife after him, calling that he had better pay her the ten cents, which he did while standing by a fence after he had collected himself. Overtaking some teams that were on the road to Rock Island, he got on one of them, and reached that city by daylight. Here he hired himself to a barber, though he was quite uninstructed in the art of shaving. Remaining in that city two days, he went to Chicago, the Abolitionist Society paying his fare. It is pleasing to note the existence, so near the seat of Slavery, of such a Society, always ready to assist the oppressed in asserting their freedom. In Chicago he lived with a barber, but remained there only three weeks, when he left for Windsor, being advised by his master to do so. During his stay in Windsor, where he got employment as a labourer, he wrote twice to his wife, but he suspects the letters were opened. A reply was received stating that his wife was in Detroit, and asking him to go over to her. This letter was probably penned by some slave-catcher. Anderson submitted the matter to a friend, who told him not to comply with the request, for there was likely some evil lurking under it. It was about the beginning of November 1853 when he reached Windsor, about six weeks after he had made his escape from his master in Missouri. He worked as a plasterer at Hamilton and Caledonia, and, at the time of his arrest by Mathews, was engaged in making maple sugar. After being discharged he went to Simcoe, where he was again arrested, and brought before Mathews, who thought that now he 'had the evidence against him nicely fixed up.' Anderson says, 'he never knew that there was so much law in the world as he found in Canada.'

"He can read very little, but cannot write. When about sixteen years of age he got a spelling-book, the only book he ever had while in Slavery, but did not make use of it. He is a man of great muscular strength, and of a determined but kind disposition."

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 1, 1861.

### RECOGNITION OF THE CONFEDERATED STATES.

ARE the Confederate States to be recognised by the Government of this country? and should the anti-slavery party encourage or discourage such recognition? These are questions of considerable moment, to the consideration of which we deem it important to devote a portion of our space.

In the first place, are the Confederate States in a position to demand to be recognised? We are of opinion that at present they are not. True, they have declared themselves independent; have organized a form of government; have settled a constitution, with the sin of slaveholding prominent in it; have set up an army, and commenced a war; and have sent Delegates to Europe to submit their claims for recognition to older constituted Powers; but though thus far exercising the functions of a legitimate *de facto* independent Government, they really have not that *status*, but are, up to the present moment, simply nothing else but seven States in open rebellion against the Federal authority of the United States. Whatever, therefore, may be the extraordinary powers of the Commissioners of the Confederate States now in this country, we consider that no European government, actually on terms of friendship with the United States, can enter into diplomatic relations with the representatives of the rebel States without seriously compromising itself with the Cabinet at Washington, and giving it just cause of offence and complaint. For reasons which we are scarcely in a position to canvass or to appreciate, but which were probably all-cogent with him, President Lincoln abstained from active measures of a coercive character, until the force of circumstances justified his assuming a hostile attitude. Nevertheless, he declared, from the first, that the Seceded States were in rebellion; next, that while he should not invade them, he intended to collect the imposts, and maintain the rights of the Federal Government to the "places and property" in those States; and, finally, he has issued a proclamation invoking the assistance of the militia forces, to retake Fort Sumter and enforce the authority of the central power, and has convoked a Session extraordinary of Congress to determine upon future measures. All the evidence, therefore, goes to shew that these Confederate States are regarded and treated by the Washington Cabinet as rebellious, and nothing else. Now we submit that any Government which should, under

these circumstances, acknowledge as independent, States that are only in rebellion, would incur the risk of involving itself in a very awkward dilemma, should the issue of the contest recently commenced terminate to the disadvantage of those States. While it is certainly not in human foresight to predict what will positively happen, and the ultimate victory may be the other way, common prudence suggests awaiting the result of the present complication. No European Power ought, in our opinion, to compromise itself, at the present juncture, by aiding and abetting this Southern rebellion; and we strongly incline to the belief that our own Government will act up to the strict principle of non-intervention. The discussion which is to take place in the House of Commons upon Mr. Gregory's motion, to which Mr. W. E. Forster has proposed an amendment, will probably enlighten us as to the views of Her Majesty's advisers; and here, for the present, we must leave this part of the question.

But supposing the struggle at an end; the Confederate States victorious, or satisfied, and their independent existence acknowledged by the Federal Government, ought Great Britain then to recognise them, and enter into diplomatic and commercial relations with them? It is alleged that it ought not, because the Southern Confederation has provided, in its constitution, for the permanence of Slavery and the perpetuation of the slave-trade, though it has prohibited the traffic in negroes from Africa. Accepting this latter prohibition for as much as it may be worth—that is, with considerable reserve on the score of its sincerity—and assuming that the Confederate States would, for the sake of enlisting European support, consent to bind themselves to unite in active efforts to suppress the African slave-trade, and admitting that the prosecution of the internal or inter-State slave-trade, and the maintenance of Slavery, are the avowed basis of the Southern Confederacy; we do not see how the British Government could reasonably refuse to recognise and to treat with it. Portugal, Spain, Holland, Brazil, are slaveholding Powers, and so is the actual Federation of the United States; but our recognition of them, our being in intimate relations with them, no more commit us to an approval of their domestic institutions, of which Slavery is one, than our diplomatic and commercial association with Russia and the Grand Turk commit us to a sanction of serfdom and the knout, or to concubinage and polygamy; nor do we, as a nation, stand committed to an approval of caste in India, and female infant-murder in China, because we have treaties with the native chiefs of the one country, and with the First Cousin of the Moon, in the imperial chair, in the other. It is a principle of the *Jus Gentium*



that every nation has a perfect right to adopt whatever institutions it pleases, and that no other nation has a right to interfere to prevent it from so doing, unless these involve a direct outrage of the public law of the comity of nations, and the actual safety of their citizens. Thus, a community of pirates would stand entirely without the pale of law, because piracy is a crime which every nation is interested in putting down, inasmuch as the citizens of any of them may become at any time the victims of it. Bad as it is, the African slave-trade has never been held to be piracy by, and as such incorporated into, the public law of Europe; otherwise it had been annihilated years ago. While, therefore, we may make it a condition of our recognition of the Confederate States, that they shall bind themselves by treaty to unite with us in efforts to suppress that inhuman traffic, we have no right, as a nation, even to protest against their prosecution of the domestic slave-trade between the States, or against their maintenance of Slavery, or to insist upon the existence of these two great crimes as a reason for not entering into diplomatic relations with their Government.

We come to a third point. With what degree of consistency could the Government of this country refuse to recognise, or treat with, the Cotton Confederacy, on the ground of the immorality of its institutions, when we are consuming the proceeds of the gross iniquity, and are thereby encouraging and fostering it to the uttermost extent of our power? A refusal based upon such considerations would be sheer hypocrisy and cant, and we should expose ourselves to the just ridicule of the whole world. Besides, if we adopted such a principle, as the foundation of our foreign policy, we should, in order not to stultify ourselves, withdraw from all intercourse with the Governments of the United States, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, and Holland; for they sustain Slavery, as an institution, and the domestic slave-trade; while Spain and Portugal, and the United States, are even the active promoters and abettors of the African slave-traffic, our treaties with them to the contrary notwithstanding. If the Seceding States succeed in defying the power of the Federal Government, and in establishing their independence, we believe that the British Cabinet will have no alternative but to recognise them, and to treat with them; and, though we admit the full force of many of the objections raised against such a recognition on moral grounds, we cannot push them to their logical conclusion without involving ourselves in an inextricable dilemma, fatal to any protest which might be uttered to induce the Government of this country to depart from the broad line of policy which has guided its transactions with all *de facto* Governments for the last thirty years, and which is in strict accord-

ance with the great principles of the public law of Europe.

#### THE FUGITIVE SLAVE, JOHN ANDERSON.

IN answer to numerous inquiries, we pen these few explanatory remarks. Our latest tidings of John Anderson stated him to have left Toronto, and to have reached Montreal, where he was awaiting the breaking-up of the frost, to come to England. We are no parties to his visit to this country. We do not see what good will result from it. He has been liberated by the Canadian Courts, and though in possible danger of re-arrest, has friends in Canada who would protect him. We have adopted the necessary measures for obtaining—when the moment for action arrives—a proper return to the writ issued by the Court of Queen's Bench at Westminster; but, according to present appearances, there is little probability of our being called upon to enforce our rights. A certain amount has been collected for the "Anderson Defence Fund," of which a proper account will be given in due time and place. John Anderson, being a free man, is at liberty to roam whithersoever it please him; but as he would be without means of existence if he quitted Canada, we can be no parties to his coming to England, to be a charge upon public or private benevolence. Besides, there is actual imprudence in converting such men into "heroes of an hour." John Anderson has acquired notoriety; not because he killed a man in endeavouring to effect his own escape from Slavery, but because, in his person, the public law of the civilized world was outraged, when a demand was made for his extradition, for the purpose of remanding him back into Slavery, or to make him an example to others of his race aspiring to freedom. His case also raised another highly important question, which the decision of the Canadian Court of Common Pleas renders impossible now to determine, namely; Whether, under any circumstances whatsoever, any extradition treaty notwithstanding, a slave can be surrendered to his claimants when he has once set foot on British soil. Had the English writ resulted in the bringing of Anderson before an English Court, this would have been the great question raised. We are rejoiced Anderson has been released; but we deeply regret that this highly important constitutional question has been, for the time, wholly set aside.

Some friends advise an action-at-law by Anderson against the committing magistrate, or against the Canadian Attorney-General, who argued against his release. Undoubtedly Anderson has a fair ground of action for damages; but is it the duty—is it even the province of any *Anti-Slavery Society* to constitute itself the prosecutor in such a case? If Anderson thinks fit to sue those who im-



prisoned him, he can do so, and *in forma pauperis*, to save expenses. But would he, in such case, sue in Canada, or in this country? and, in either case, who would provide the requisite funds for prosecuting the suit, small though the sum required might be? Other considerations also present themselves, on which we cannot decide without indiscretion. We therefore beg to conclude our remarks by informing our friends generally, and Anderson's inquiring friends particularly, that while he has our utmost sympathy, and may be assured of our co-operation to promote his legitimate interests, we can be no party to his being brought to this country to be lionized; nor will we undertake to appeal to the public to enable him to prosecute any personal objects he may have in view in coming hither.

#### 'COTTON GROWING IN JAMAICA.

WE call the attention of those who are interested in the efforts now making to promote an increased supply of cotton from independent sources, to the report and the recommendation—which has been adopted—of the Executive Committee of the Kingston Commercial Exchange, relative to the development of this important branch of agriculture. The offer of a prize of 100*l.* for the best parcel of cotton, weighing not less than 5000 lbs. grown by any person, is a step in the right direction. It will probably stimulate the native peasantry to make the experiment of growing cotton on their freeholds or allotments; the only way in which—in the judgment of those most competent to form a correct opinion—this useful staple can be produced on the scale most advantageous to the free labourer.

We have incurred censure for frankly exposing what we believe to be the great mistakes of parties who see in West-India Cotton-growing Companies alone the grand panacea for Jamaica decadence, and the great resource of our manufacturers, in the event of a failure in the American supply. But we consider such experiments as involving interests far too serious to be made to depend upon the success or the failure of a commercial speculation, which may indeed prove, what needs no proof, namely, that cotton can be grown in our West-India Colonies, but which will probably do so only at an enormous expense. Let proper inducements be held out to the West-India peasantry, to cultivate, not cotton alone, but any commodity that will pay for growing, and afford them facilities for disposing of their products at a fair market value, and we believe they will be found as eager to make money as other people. The experiment about to be tried is a highly important one, based on a sound principle, and is deserving of a full and complete success.

#### PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S PROCLAMATION OF WAR.

WE subjoin an important State-paper, for convenience of future reference, namely, President Lincoln's declaration of war against the Seceded States. It will be observed that he regards the secession movement, up to the present time, as a mere interruption of the course of the law of the United States.

##### PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas the laws of the United States have been for some time past, and now are, opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law:

"Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the constitution and laws, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, the militia of the several states of the Union to the aggregate number of 75,000, in order to suppress said combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed.

"The details for this object will be immediately communicated to the State authorities through the War Department. I appeal to all loyal citizens to favour, facilitate, and aid this effort to maintain the honour, the integrity, and the existence of our national Union and the perpetuity of popular government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured.

"I deem it proper to say that the first service assigned to the forces hereby called forth will probably be to repossess the forts, places, and property which have been seized from the Union; and in every event the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any destruction of, or interference with, property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens in any part of the country; and I hereby command the persons composing the combinations aforesaid to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days from this date.

"Deeming that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, I do hereby, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution, convene both Houses of Congress. The Senators and Representatives are therefore summoned to assemble at their respective chambers at twelve o'clock, noon, on Thursday, the fourth day of July next, then and there to consider and determine such measures as, in their wisdom, the public safety and interest may seem to demand.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington, this 15th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1861, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President—

"William H. Seward, Secretary of State."

### NON-RECOGNITION OF THE CONFEDERATED STATES.

WE have been requested to give publicity to the following letter. The Secretaries of the *Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society* have issued it in considerable numbers to the editors of newspapers, and we are glad of affording the Rev. Dr. Cheever an opportunity of conveying his sentiments on a most important subject, to many who might not otherwise learn what they are:

"3 St. Colme Street, April 13, 1861.

"I am deeply impressed just now with the greatness and solemnity of the present juncture for the people of Great Britain in regard to Slavery, in consequence of the demand of the new slave-trading Confederacy to be recognised as a nation by the British Government.

"It has already been moved in the House of Commons, or notice of such a motion has been given, that they be so recognised. If they should, it would be a dreadful triumph of the slave-power, and a measure fatal to the moral influence of Great Britain against Slavery. It would, in fact, be a blow struck by Great Britain against the whole African race, and in favour of the perpetuity of Slavery. It would be a contradiction of all the past policy and persevering action of Britain against Slavery and the slave-trade, and a public national sanction of the traffic in human beings; for it is on that traffic that this new Confederacy avowedly stakes its existence and its claims to be admitted into the family of nations. It sets the righteousness of that traffic as its chief corner-stone, and declares its determination to pursue it as being the one business on which it bases its prosperity, and for the sake of the uninterrupted pursuit of which it has broken away from the Government of the United States, and set up a Government of its own. Its vital organic law of national life is a business which England has branded in its foreign form as piracy, and the only difference between its foreign form and the domestic traffic so called, is, that the latter is exasperated in its guilt, accumulated and perpetually accumulating in the number of its victims, the cause of tenfold comprehensive misery, the consecration of a race of millions to a perpetuity of infamy and anguish as the very law and necessity of their existence; and, worse than all the rest, the public and legalized consecration of this traffic of sin and misery as sanctioned by the Gospel. Such is the domestic slave-trade, for the prosecution and perpetual security of which this Confederacy has declared itself to be a nation, and now comes to the British Government demanding to be recognised as a nation in this character and for this purpose, and for none other. Every other object was secured before. This traffic in human beings, and the secure uninterrupted pursuit of it, is the one

avowed object which this new nation of slave-traders now seeks, and which it means to accomplish more certainly by securing that treaty with Great Britain which it now demands. Under these circumstances, if your Government should enter into such a recognition and treaty, it would be a sanction, by your Government, of that very traffic in human beings which they profess to hold in abhorrence as a crime both against God and mankind; and it would be, all things considered, the greatest triumph that Slavery has ever gained. It would be a step on the part of Great Britain over which the whole world would mourn. It would be such a superfluity of debasement on the part of Great Britain, such a wanton renunciation of principle, and such a dreadful sacrifice of the African race, as the perpetuated victims of the slave-traffic thus nationally sanctioned, that the hearts of the friends of the poor slaves and of a pure Christianity tremble and bleed at the possibility of it. Yet but few of your countrymen seem awake to the terribleness of this prospect, or aware on the verge of what a crime, in such a proposed national sanction of the greatest crime in modern ages, the British Government are now treading. May God, in mercy, avert this calamity! Yet it will surely take place unless the Christian sentiment of the country is aroused and expressed against it. There ought now to be meetings all over the land. It is a subject on which the ministers of the Gospel ought to preach, as they did thirty years ago, when the emancipation of 800,000 of your own slaves was urged in the name of God and humanity: but now your national sanction is demanded for the Slavery of four millions, and for a perpetual traffic in them and their posterity as property. The recognition of such a claim would go far to undo all that you have ever accomplished for the freedom of the African race. God forbid that your Government should be left to enter into such a treaty, the object of which is the breaking of the family relations of 4,000,000, the destruction of the ordinance of marriage for the whole race, and the conversion of it into a mere arrangement of infamy and misery for the perpetuity of the slave-traffic and the increase of its victims.

"I am so anxious, in regard to this matter, that I can scarcely rest. Wherever I have addressed audiences of late, I have implored the people to send remonstrances or petitions against the proposed recognition; and in some cases they have formally resolved to do so. Now this is surely a proper case for the immediate action of the Anti-Slavery Societies of Edinburgh. . . . I think there ought to be spirit enough in the city for a public meeting, and no time should be lost, for the hazard is imminent.

"I am, &c,

"GEORGE B. CHEEVER."

## THE LAST UNITED STATES CENSUS.

THE *New-York Evening Post* publishes the tables of the population returns of the several States of the Union, for the years 1850 and 1860. These statistics cannot but be highly serviceable at this time, and the comparative density of the population of the States, with the tabulated ratio, or decrease or increase, in them, is very instructive to the student of the effects of Slavery upon a community. The tables shew that New York maintains the lead in the Union, but that Illinois has grown more rapidly than New York during the last ten years. In several of the Western States the population has more than doubled in ten years, and in one, Iowa, has nearly quadrupled. There has been no positive decrease of population in any, although in several of the New-England States it is stationary.

With regard to the Slave States, Texas and Missouri have grown the most rapidly. South Carolina, Florida, and Delaware are nearly stationary; and North Carolina, Tennessee, and Louisiana have not advanced with great rapidity. Maryland appears to be increasing rapidly.

In Delaware and Maryland there has been a decrease; in Maryland so large, that in ten years, at the same rate, the slaves will have disappeared altogether. In Delaware few will be left. In Missouri there has been a small increase; but, compared with the white population, which has doubled, an enormous relative decrease. Slavery is nearly stationary in North Carolina, South Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

In sum, the Slave States have gained in ten years about two millions of whites, and the Free States more than five millions. New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio contain as many white people as all the Slave States put together: a suggestive fact.

## FREE STATES AND TERRITORIES.

	1850.	1860.	Increase
Maine.....	583,169	619,958	36,789
New Hampshire ..	317,976	326,072	8,096
Vermont .....	314,120	315,827	1,707
Massachusetts .....	994,514	1,231,494	236,980
Rhode Island .....	147,545	174,621	27,076
Connecticut .....	370,792	460,670	89,878
New York.....	3,097,394	3,851,563	745,169
New Jersey.....	489,335	676,084	187,751
Pennsylvania.....	2,311,786	2,916,018	604,232
Ohio .....	1,980,427	2,377,917	397,490
Michigan.....	397,654	754,291	356,637
Indiana.....	988,416	1,350,802	362,386
Illinois.....	851,470	1,691,238	839,768
Wisconsin.....	305,391	768,485	463,094
Iowa.....	192,214	682,003	489,789
California.....	192,597	384,770	292,173
Oregon.....	13,294	52,566	39,272
Minnesota.....	6077	172,793	166,616
Kansas.....	....	143,645	143,645
Nebraska.....	....	28,893	28,893
Utah.....	11,354	50,000	38,646
Dakota.....	....	4839	4839
Washington.....	....	11,624	11,624
	13,465,523	19,046,173	5,580,650

## SLAVE STATES.

	1850.	1860.	Increase.
Delaware.....	69,424	110,548	21,306
Maryland.....	492,666	946,183	153,517
Virginia.....	949,133	1,097,373	148,240
North Carolina .....	580,491	679,965	99,474
South Carolina.....	283,523	308,186	24,663
Georgia.....	524,503	615,336	90,833
Florida.....	48,135	81,885	33,750
Alabama.....	428,779	520,444	91,665
Mississippi.....	290,648	407,051	116,403
Louisiana.....	272,953	354,245	81,292
Texas.....	154,431	415,799	261,568
Arkansas.....	162,797	331,710	168,913
Tennessee.....	763,154	859,528	96,374
Kentucky.....	771,424	920,077	148,653
Missouri .....	594,622	1,085,595	490,973
District of Columbia.	48,000	75,321	27,321
New Mexico.....	61,547	93,024	31,477
	6,522,048	8,602,470	2,080,422

## SLAVE POPULATION.

	1850.	1860.	Decrease.	Increase.
Delaware.....	2290	1505	785	....
Maryland.....	90,368	35,382	54,986	....
Virginia.....	472,528	495,826	....	23,298
North Carolina..	288,548	328,377	....	39,830
South Carolina..	384,984	407,185	....	22,201
Georgia.....	381,682	467,471	....	85,779
Florida.....	39,309	64,809	....	24,500
Alabama.....	342,892	435,463	....	92,581
Mississippi.....	309,778	479,007	....	169,229
Louisiana.....	244,800	312,186	....	67,377
Texas.....	58,161	184,956	....	126,795
Arkansas.....	47,100	109,065	....	61,965
Tennessee.....	239,460	287,112	....	47,652
Kentucky.....	210,981	225,400	....	14,419
Missouri.....	67,422	115,619	....	28,197
Dist. of Columbia	3687	(No returns.)	....	....
	2,203,999	3,999,853	55,771	148,375

## WILLIAM SHREVE BAILEY.

WE are anxious to call the attention of the friends of the anti-slavery cause to the case of William Shreve Bailey, who has paid a flying visit to this country, and who, though still here while we pen these lines, will be on his way home before they reach the eyes of our readers.

"Who is William Shreve Bailey?" somebody inquires. He is one of those champions of freedom who has earned a name and a place in the annals of the struggle for Abolition in the United States, second to none, although his work has been prosecuted in a quiet way. He is one of those self-denying, self-helping men of action, as well as of thought, who, finding himself in the midst of a community, depraved and demoralized by Slavery, felt it to be his duty to combat the evil at its source, with such means as he had at his disposal. Like many others, who have to contend with the slave-power face to face—a very different kind of struggle to making speeches against it, or writing articles denouncing it, at a distance—he has been made to pay the penalty of free speech by personal suffering and loss, and by persecution, such as we, living at a distance, have no accurate conception of. Let him tell his own tale. We condense it from a short address he recently delivered at Newcastle, and to which reference is made in our Summary.



"He had imbibed from his father his sentiments with respect to Slavery, and had settled in Newport, Kentucky, as an engine-builder. There he began to write articles in a newly-started newspaper against the institution of Slavery. The slaveholders went to the editor to know who wrote them, but were only told that the paper was open to their pens if they chose to reply. This they declined; and on the appearance of another article, again went to the editor, threatening that if he did not give them the information they required, they would throw his press into the river. Being told it was Mr. Bailey, they went to his machine-shop, and demanded if he was going to continue writing articles of that character. He gave them to understand that he should continue to write. Thereupon one of them struck him over the eye with a brass knuckle-duster. A *melee* ensued, in the course of which he was struck with a bowie knife, but ultimately his men drove the assailants off. The man who printed the paper became afraid to carry it on, and insisted on Mr. Bailey's buying him out, as his articles had been the cause of its failure. He agreed to buy it; and after a time got it started again in his machine shop, on the 7th March 1850. The paper became generally taken in the town, and he was so much encouraged that he started a weekly paper. When it began to circulate in the country, the slaveholders became terribly outraged at the articles published, though there was nothing in them but what was very modest and moderate. The slaveholders thought Slavery would suffer, and an effort was made to put the paper down. Handbills were published, denouncing the proprietor. He treated the handbill with contempt; but at last, on the 6th October 1851, they set fire to his premises, and burnt them down—machine-shop, printing-office, and all. With the assistance of the working men, however, he got new type and a press, and started again. An opposition paper was tried, but that soon gave way, and he again found himself getting on very well. Various devices were resorted to by his opponents, to arrest, if possible, the progress of his enterprise. His printers were tampered with; and finding himself compelled to discharge them, he had his family taught to set type. At first the paper got out in this manner was very indifferent; but his boys and girls soon learned to set very fast, and in a short time they brought out as good a paper as before. Then he found tradesmen were told that if they advertised with him they would lose their customers. He published a list of the persons who thus exerted their influence, and put a stop to the hunting down of advertisers. Attempts were next made to set his own wife against him, to induce her to take the children away from the work. After dwelling at some length on other details of a similar character, Mr. Bailey went on to notice another flagrant, and, for the time, successful at-

tempt on the part of the slaveholders to stop the publication of his paper. In this instance they published a letter, purporting to have come from John Brown, so well known in connection with the affair at Harper's Ferry, recommending Mr. Bailey to capture the United States barracks. They stated that it was Mr. Bailey's purpose, with a large body of men from Ohio, and of the secret body he had organized in Kentucky, to capture the barracks, and commence war on the slaveholders. Such a thing never entered his head. It was afterwards found out that the letter in question was a forgery. In drawing his remarks to a close, Mr. Bailey intimated his desire to continue in the prosecution of the work in which he has laboured so long, and for which he and his family have suffered so much. He expressed himself hopeful that if he could re-establish his paper, by appealing to the slaveholders on the ground of their interests, many of them would be induced to unite with him to abolish Slavery as the best thing they could do."

Let our readers bear in mind that the *Free South* is the first abolitionist newspaper which has ever been published in a Slave State, and they may then begin to form an idea of the importance of sustaining it, and of assisting Mr. Bailey to re-establish it.

But this is not all. Mr. Bailey appeals for help to enable him to sustain the expense of a ruinous and vindictive prosecution. It is scarcely credible, but it is the fact nevertheless, that Mr. Bailey's enemies, finding they could not intimidate him into a relinquishment of his paper, devised a mode of involving him in law expenses, with a view to effect his ruin by legal process. On the 3rd of March 1860, an Act was passed by the General Assembly of Kentucky expressly to meet Mr. Bailey's case. It is entitled, "An Act to prevent the writing, printing, or circulating of incendiary documents in this State;" and it proceeds to define, as an "incendiary document," any article against Slavery, and to declare the penalty to be not less than one year, nor more than five years' imprisonment in the Penitentiary. Under this abominable act Mr. Bailey has been prosecuted, and is held to bail to meet the charge in the present month. He has returned to Newport (Kentucky) for this purpose, and if the judgment go against him, he will have to submit to the penalty of imprisonment.

We subjoin a letter, which Mr. Bailey has published and circulated, setting forth his position, and which we earnestly recommend to the attention of our readers.

#### APPEAL.

"I have set the following in type to save me from writing the same, in substance, to my friends. I wish to let them know something more of the troubles through which I have passed, and am passing, and to implore their assistance

in the maintenance of the freedom of speech and liberty of the press here upon Southern soil. Many of the thinking portion of the labouring classes are doing what they can to sustain *The Free South*, as they consider it a credit to themselves and an honour to Kentucky, and it is my wish to start it again at the earliest period.

"In all the turmoil and strife, political or sectional, past or present, I have asked for nothing but what is natural and legally right, and do not wish to submit to any thing that is wrong; yet slaveholders and their allies have attempted, by mob force, to deprive me of the constitutional privilege of publishing my paper, because I have advocated the freedom of Kentucky and the downfall of Slavery. I have, so far, beat the enemy, and I trust in God that the lovers of freedom will aid me in sustaining my position; for now is the time that Southern FREE MEN should be remembered.

"I have had much to contend against during the last year, since so many of our Free State men so unwisely suffered themselves to be driven from the State, as it set the bullies upon me with tenfold force, and compelled me to procure arms and prepare for self-defence.

"In October 1859, my printing-office was entered in the night by a secret band of pro-slavery ruffians, who destroyed my entire office, carrying off all my type, and such parts of my presses and machinery as were possible for them to handle, and threw them into the Ohio river, which, with the injury they did to my house and office, was a loss of over three thousand dollars. Since then I have raised means to repair my house, in part, and also to get anew the missing parts of my printing-presses, and had them neatly fitted up, but was compelled, by necessity, to sell the large one, bringing the small one home amidst the threats of mob rowdies and tumult. Then I had to increase my stock of guns and pistols, and arm my family, to protect the press, and prevent a like outrage while re-issuing my paper, as they had threatened to demolish the whole again if I did: so, by preparing for war I escaped war, and so I ever hope to do.

"In issuing the paper I shewed up the character of some of the principal actors in the mob, and published the threats they had made, saying, 'the press should never be brought back,' or 'the paper be re-issued again in Newport,' &c. But no mobbing was attempted, as had been threatened, though I was charged with issuing and circulating an 'incendiary' document, arrested and brought before two magistrates, one of whom was J. R. Hallam, Esq., the chosen captain of the mob that destroyed my office, and who was appointed to that office by the Governor of Kentucky shortly after he led the mob against me; and they held me to bail, after much legal discussion, in the sum of 1000 dollars for my

appearance at court. Court sit the latter part of November 1860, prior to which I was thrown into jail, the pro-slavery officials demanding additional security, which I finally obtained, and was again released, though out at court I was indicted by the Grand Jury, and my trial set for the next term in May 1861.

"It is admitted by all cool-minded lawyers that this indictment was found contrary to the constitution of the United States, and contrary to the intent and meaning of the laws and constitution of the State of Kentucky. That it is a malicious prosecution, intended by my enemies and political opponents solely to harass and annoy me, and put me to cost, having to go thirteen miles back in the State, and there to stay day by day, at great expense, until the case is called by the court. This suit, in the examining trial, and out at court, has cost me two hundred and fifty dollars.

"The unmanliness of this prosecution, encouraged by the slaveholding interests of the State, against a humble mechanic from the bosom of the labouring masses, has, at least, had the effect of making more anti-slavery men than, perhaps, the uninterrupted issue of my paper could have done in the same time, as, at the late Presidential election, 268 votes were cast for Mr. Lincoln in Newport (the largest vote ever given for freedom in any city or county in Kentucky), while, in 1853, but 99 were cast for Mr. Fremont—a gain of 169 votes.

"The unalloyed meanness that accompanies the slaveholding power—the secession movements of some of the Southern States, aiming at the dissolution of the Union, and coercing their poor to 'hurrah' for what they do not understand—I trust will soon open the eyes of the people, that they will see that the establishment of a despotism is the whole object of the Southern masters.

"Now all is in confusion and strife, and war, to some extent, is expected before Southern senators and representatives cease their turmoil, or tormenting bullies stop their midnight prowlings, their breaking of doors and windows, and distributing anonymous letters, warning Free-State men that their lives are in danger, and to leave the State. I have received a large share of these professedly 'friendly' letters.

"He who is not firm in this fearful crisis cannot carry much moral weight or influence, and he who can be driven is of but little force here now. It is better to meet the enemy in open conflict and be beaten, than to shrink from position and retreat without effort. The oligarchy have too often brought dismay upon the poor, liberty-loving people of the South, yet I hope to see in them more determination and courage hereafter.

"I am not able to issue my paper just now on account of my late expenses at court, and the threatening attitude toward me, though I have

procured some new and second-hand job type, and some of my children are at work on jobs in our office, and two are at work in Cincinnati; but some two of the family having to watch our house by turns, almost every night, are thus deprived of doing much for the support of the house, and our wants are many. Such troubles as these are sore and grievous troubles, yet we must bear them if we would be free.

"We, of the Free-State men here, are hoping and praying that the friends of a free country in Congress may unite against the unreasonable demands of some of our Southern men, and put down the haughty spirit that tramples upon us who ask for freedom. We long for the day that we can lay down and sleep in peace and safety, without guns or pistols by our sides.

"Some of the slaveholders, too, are in dread lest their slaves rise and kill them. The fruits of their wickedness is coming upon their own heads, and we hope in God, that, as they will not hear reason or accept of justice, the sight of wholesome retaliation may bring them to a sense of the wrongs they have so unceremoniously and maliciously inflicted upon others.

"I do hope the friends of freedom will not forsake me and my family in this trying time. I want, and should have, by all means, more aid. No one will deny that I have been faithful, and that some good has been accomplished in the cause of freedom here, though labouring much of the time in needy and sorrowing circumstances. I would refer the friends of freedom to the *New-York Anti-Slavery Standard*, *New York Principia*, *Boston Liberator*, and other anti-slavery journals, touching the courage, fortitude, and perseverance of my family.

"I have awoke an earnest and undying spirit of freedom in Kentucky, and done much to encourage the same in other Southern States; and had it not been for the pecuniary embarrassment into which I was thrown by incendiarism in 1852, destroying my machine-shop and printing-office, after which Cassius M. Clay, for a while, became cool toward me, (and now in this last destruction of my office, as will be seen by my paper of August 20, 1860, he again turns against me,) others would have taken up the cross with me, and fought a bold and valiant fight; but seeing that I was fallen upon by the oligarchy and their accomplices like bull-dogs upon an ox for the slaughter, even some of the most earnest anti-slavery men would not suffer themselves to come out openly with me, lest they, like myself, should lose their all, and receive inadequate aid from friends, and torrents of abuse and obloquy from our wealthy foes.

"To speak out against the system of Slavery, and in behalf of the poor unlearned whites, our little homes became jeopardized: peace and comfort we cannot enjoy, and we must either sink into humble submission, or, in our poverty, brave

the dangers and fight on for liberty. I wish, therefore, to encourage my fellow-citizens to stand up for their rights in a constitutional way, and honourably and rightfully maintain them.

"I could fill a thousand pages in relating to friends my troubles and toil, and the bad spirit that Slavery engenders in men: still this article may be too lengthy for some to read through.

"Trusting in the great Ruler and Director of the events of nations, and in the prayers of the good and just, I remain ever true to liberty,

"WM. SHREVE BAILEY.

"Friends corresponding with me will please write my name in full on the envelope, and direct to 'Covington, Kentucky,' instead of Newport.

"W. S. B."

We have no hesitation in asserting it as our belief, that none of the many anti-slavery instrumentalities in actual operation so imperatively appeals for active and prompt co-operation as this one of maintaining a free paper in a Slave State. To enable Mr. Bailey to meet his present and most pressing claims, so that, on his return, or shortly after, he may recommence the issue of *The Free South*, he needs the sum of TWO HUNDRED POUNDS. Of this amount he has only collected about SEVENTY-FIVE.

May we appeal strongly to the friends of the anti-slavery cause, throughout the country, to contribute to the fund required? We know that they have numerous claims; that the same people are almost always applied to; that the demands upon them are pressing. But let them reflect a moment upon the importance of the work Mr. Bailey is doing! let them only draw the picture of this simple but strong-willed man, teaching his wife and their children to pick up letters at ease; to pull the strong lever of the press, whence issue the broad-sheets that act as a lever upon public opinion in Kentucky! Let them, in imagination, picture this family in council around the family table, weak in numbers, but strong in faith—devising the ways and means for the morrow, and the *pabulum* for the slaveholding community they are endeavouring to convert: or let them look upon the wasted form of that dear child, emerging from infancy, and only on the threshold of a young life, but fading into eternity through excess of labour, her iron heart bearing up, to the last, against her sickly frame; and then let them say whether a family which has done so much for the cause of negro freedom does not merit the sympathy and the aid of every true-hearted Abolitionist in the United Kingdom.

We make this appeal in confidence. that it will be liberally responded to. We append a list of persons who will receive sums of money for Mr. Bailey; and we sincerely trust that small donations as well as large will flow in.



*Newcastle-on-Tyne.*—J. C. Fenwick, Secretary of *Newcastle and Gateshead Anti-Slavery Society*; Anna H. Richardson; Daniel Oliver; W. C. Marshall, *Northern Daily Express*; Rev. J. W. Lance.

*Liverpool.*—Mrs. Anne (John) Cropper, Dinglebank.

*Leeds.*—Mr. James Walker, Secretary of *Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society*; Wilson Armistead.

*Birmingham.*—Lydia E. Sturge.

*Glasgow.*—John Smith.

*Edinburgh.*—Eliza Wigham.

To the above list we add our own. Subscriptions may be sent to the Office of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, 27 New Broad Street, E.C., and made payable to the Secretary, L. A. Chamerovzow.

#### AFRICAN-AID SOCIETY.

WE have been requested to give publicity to the following circular, issued by the above-named Society. We do so with every desire thereby to promote the objects of this Association, which have our cordial sympathy; but we would venture to suggest that the Executive Committee would do well to publish, before long, its plan of operations, and a statement of the actual number of coloured people who are represented as being on the point of emigrating from the other side of the Atlantic, and what their resources are.

#### DEATH STRUGGLE WITH SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

##### THE AFRICAN-AID SOCIETY.

*Vice-Presidents*—The Rt. Hon. Lord Calthorpe.

The Right Rev. the Bishop of Sierra Leone.

*Chairman*—Lord Alfred S. Churchill, M.P.

*Secretary*—F. W. Fitzgerald.

*Why ALL ought to assist its efforts by their subscriptions.*

“Because—

“1st. Whether our enormous use and consumption of slave produce from the United States, Brazil, and Cuba, make us participators in the guilt of Slavery and the slave-trade or not, we are deriving great advantages and enjoyments through them.

“2nd. The great consumption of cotton goods in this country, and the immense demands for cotton by our manufacturing industry, have upheld and increased Slavery and the horrors of slavery in the Southern States of America.

“3rd. The slaveholders there taunt us with a participation in it; and being thus directly accused by them as abettors of their enormities, without which, they say, the cotton we want could not be obtained, our position as professing Christians is a painful and improper one, and causes the unbeliever to rejoice.

“4th. Tens of thousands of these tortured

slaves, being humble believers in Christ, are Christ's brethren; and the injury done to them is done to Christ himself.

“5th. The admittance of slave-grown sugar from Brazil and Cuba, for consumption in this country, at the same rate of duty as free-labour sugar from the East Indies and our colonies, has unhappily issued in a great revival and increase of the African slave-trade, with all its attendant murders and iniquities, in Africa, on shipboard, and in Cuba.

“6th. This places us all in a position, with regard to Slavery and the slave-trade, from which every believer in Christ is bound, by the solemn obligation of his faith, to endeavour to free himself and his country.

“7th. In the present complicated state of the world's commerce, no individual abstinence from the use of slave produce, should such be thought a duty, will effect this.

“8th. It can only be effected by the universal Christian co-operation of the people of this country, in practical efforts to increase the production of free-labour cotton and sugar everywhere.

“9th. No place in the world offers greater facilities for this than those districts of Africa which this Society has especially selected for its operations, cotton and the sugar-cane being indigenous there, and growing wild in abundance.

“10th. The free people of African descent in America are now—many of them—anxious to go there, carrying with them the skill in cotton and sugar growing that they undoubtedly possess.

“11th. They will take Christianity and civilization with them, and diffuse them among the natives; thus assisting Missionary efforts, while gradually, and, it is hoped, rapidly furnishing supplies of cotton and sugar, grown by free labour, that, combined with those from the East Indies and our colonies, will enable us to dispense with and exclude slave-grown cotton and sugar.

“12th. This must, under God's blessing, lead to the final extinction of the slave-trade and Slavery.

“13th. Whatever the past may have been, our future will be a course of guilty complicity in those things so hateful in the sight of God, if we refuse to aid in the practical means that can now be employed for cleansing the earth from those iniquities.

“If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; if thou sayest, Behold we knew it not; doth not He that pondereth the heart consider it? And He that keepeth thy soul, doth not He know it? And shall not He render to every man according to his works?”—Proverbs xxiv. 11, 12.

“Contributions to the funds of this Society may be paid to the Chairman, the Honorary Secretaries, at 12, York Buildings, Adelphi, or to the Society's account at the London and Westminster

Bank, Lothbury, and at any of its Branches. P.O. Orders to be made payable to the Chairman, at Charing Cross.

"Donors of 10 guineas and upward, and Collectors of 20 guineas and upward, are Life Members.

"Donors of 1 guinea and upward, and Collectors of 2 guineas and upward, are Yearly Members.

"Collecting Cards will be supplied when requested."

### A NEGRO WOMAN'S ESCAPE FROM SLAVERY.

WE extract from the *Montreal Gazette*, of the 4th of February, the following account of the fearful sufferings of a poor negro woman in her attempts to escape from Slavery. We quite concur in the editor's prefatory remarks.

"When, some years ago, Mrs. Stowe wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and the whole world read the story of the wrongs of the black man, some there were who did not hesitate to say that, though such things might exist in the brain of the novelist, they could nowhere else be found. We lay before our readers to-day a brief account of the sufferings of a poor negro woman, caused by the brutality of a master, which for hideous malignity and fiendish cruelty were beyond the imagination even of a Legree; and a recital of her escape from bondage, which for romantic interest is far beyond anything we have ever heard of, and another proof that truth is stranger than fiction. We have the account from the lips of the woman herself, who arrived in this city on Monday last; and we have also the statement, over his own signature, of Doctor Reddy, under whose treatment she now is, which fully bears out every word of hers regarding the cruelty to which she had been subjected. Her history, in brief, is as follows:

"Born in Washington, of free parents, she was, while yet an infant, stolen from there, with two or three coloured men and thirty or forty other 'cattle,' by a man named Tom Watson, now expiating the theft by imprisonment for life in Richmond Penitentiary. She was taken down to the neighbourhood of Galveston, Texas, as the property of William Whirl, and whose wife, Polly, performed to her the part of a mother. It was from Polly Whirl she learned all these particulars, she being, of course, too young to know any thing. Until she was thirteen or fourteen, she was brought up as a 'show girl,' taught to dance, sing, cackle like a hen, or crow like a rooster, so that you could not tell the difference, and perform in various other ways; Whirl always being able to attract a crowd from the country round to see her perform. After that time she was sent into the cotton field with the other field hands, where the treatment was cruelly severe. No clothes whatever were allowed them; their hair was cut off close to their heads, and

thus were exposed to the glare of a southern sun from early morn until late at night. Scarcely a day passed without their receiving fifty lashes, whether they worked or whether they did not. They were also compelled to go down on their knees, and harnessed to a plough, to plough up the land, with boys for riders, to whip them when they flagged in their work. At other times they were compelled to walk on hackles, used for hachling flax. Her feet are now dotted over with scars, caused by this brutality. She often, over and over again, attempted to escape; but, having no knowledge of the way, was easily overtaken and brought back. On one occasion she and her husband (if he could be called so) made an unsuccessful attempt to fly. The poor man had had on his legs for two years irons which had grown into the flesh; these impeded him in his flight, and caused their capture. He was then shockingly beaten, and otherwise cruelly ill-used, so that he died under the treatment, and she was brought back. Her mistress, Polly Whirl, a Dutch woman, and a woman, had always been a friend to the poor negress, who went by the name of 'Capt. Bull,' and at last told her of Canada, that refuge for the hunted fugitive, and pointed out to her the North Star as her guide by night. This, of course, was done without the knowledge of the brute Whirl. She again started, and travelled on foot without a vestige of clothing, subsisting on herbs and nuts, sometimes parched with thirst, until she actually reached a place in the state of Mississippi, called the 'Shades of Death.' Here she gave birth to twin-children, one of them dead. The other she gave in charge to a woman there. While at the 'Shades of Death,' she was arrested as a fugitive, put in jail, and claimed by Whirl, who had come in quest of her, and taken back by him to Galveston. The first regular flight was commenced in March 1858. On her return to Texas, her master having had some difficulty in proving her identity, swore that he would mark her in such a manner that hereafter there would be no such trouble. He slit both her ears, then branded her on the back of her left hand with a hot iron, cut off with an axe the little finger and bone connecting therewith of her right hand, searing the wound with a hot iron, and also branded her on the stomach with a letter. He heard she had tried to incite more of the slaves to escape to Canada, and tried to force her to tell who had told her any thing about Canada, promising not to whip her if she did so. She, with the spirit of a martyr, refused to give any information, whereupon he had her fixed in what is there technically termed a 'buck.' This was doubling her in two, until her legs were passed over her head, where they were kept by a stick passed across the back of her neck. This violence was the cause of the distortion mentioned in the doctor's statement. While in this position, several panels of a board fence were raised, a notch cut in the boards, and her neck placed in the notch. She was then whipped to such a degree that the overseer, more humane than the master, interfered to prevent a murder. The wounds caused by the lash were rubbed with salt and water and pepper, to keep away the green flies. After this, on one occasion, Whirl struck her on the head with a hoe handle a number of

times, and actually broke her skull. She says herself that a silver plate had to be put in, and that her master afterwards told her, cursing her, that she had 'a dollar in her head to pay her way to purgatory.' At another time she was left for a number of days without any thing to eat or drink. She says she tried to tear her eyes out to eat them, she was so hungry. Still later, for some disobedience on her part, they hoisted her into a tree, locked a chain round her neck, and handcuffed her wrists, the marks being yet visible. There she was left for two days and nights, without a morsel to eat, being taunted with such questions as to whether she was hungry, and would like something to eat, &c. &c., she never giving the satisfaction of answering a word. She succeeded at length, by spitting on her hands, in slipping off her cuffs, with which she wrenched asunder the locks of the chains around her neck and then fell exhausted to the ground. A another time, several of her teeth were knocked out by a hammer, she having bitten off a part of her master's nose, and at another time she was knocked down with a whip, leaving a scar of more than three inches in length on her cheek.

"For more than another year she remained in Texas, when she again escaped. She crossed the gulf in a steamer, hiding among some barrels, and when the captain discovered her, and interrogated her as to who she was, she answered him in unintelligible gibberish, so that he could make nothing of it. She was quite naked, and one of the passengers gave her a blanket to throw around her. When they arrived in Louisiana, she went ashore, and commenced her course northward. She was recognised, however, before long, and pursued. She escaped, she says, by plunging into a river and swimming across—her master having taught her how to swim like an eel. The river was full of alligators, but they never touched her. She then went through hardships similar to what she had endured the previous year, made her way to the 'Shades of Death,' got her child, started again, and, travelling by the aid of her heavenly beacon, reached Warren County, Illinois. She was now on free soil, but she was doomed to still further sufferings. A negro there, by artful means, entrapped her, and sold her for 250 dollars to a resident of Natchez, where she was taken. From Natchez she contrived to escape, and wandered into Virginia to New Richmond, where she was arrested as a runaway, and put in jail. She again contrived to escape, and got as far as Cumberland, where she was taken up. There she received some assistance which enabled her to break out of jail, and she again went on her journeyings towards a place of freedom. After various vicissitudes, being arrested and again escaping, she came to Louisville, Kentucky, was arrested, broke jail, and came to Boydstown, where she was again taken up. At Boydstown they took the child from her, which hitherto she had carried with her, and she was hired out to a man until some one should claim her. She was one more successful in getting away, was put across the Ohio river in a boat, and got as far as Zanesville, Ohio. There she was again stopped and carried back to Boydstown, under the Fugitive Slave Law, once more a slave. Again she got

away, travelled through Ohio to New York State, mentioning Watertown and Whitehall as places through which she passed, always on foot. Finally, when near Rouse's Point, she was taken to that place to a freight train; there some man performed the Christian act of paying her way to Montreal by railroad, and on Monday evening last she arrived here, was brought to the house of a man of her own race, Mr. Cook, No. 13 St. Urbain Street, where she now is in a state of perfect destitution, covered with a patchwork of rags, suffering from the severe injuries she received from the brutal Whirl. Her object now is, if possible, to earn money to support herself, and to raise enough to purchase the freedom of her child, the property of Ann Choiil, Boydstown, Kentucky: 250 dollars is the amount necessary to restore the child to his mother. Need we commend the poor woman to the citizens of Montreal for their practical aid, after the history we have given of her? We feel that there will be an immediate response from all.

"The following is the statement kindly furnished to us by Dr. Reddy, he having been called in to see her by Cook, the man who has so humanely sheltered her:

"Montreal, Jan. 28, 1861.

"I was requested by Mr. Cook to call and see a negro woman, who had arrived the previous day in Montreal, he telling me she was very ill from injuries she had received while a slave. On visiting the woman, she complained of severe pain in her right side, caused, as she said, by a violent wrench which she received at the hands of her owners. On making examination, I found her body very much distorted, her spine curved towards the right side, and the ribs forced completely in the same direction, having a very bulged appearance. I also found the following marks of ill treatment on her person: A V shaped piece has been slit out of each ear; there is a depression on the right parietal bone, where it had been fractured, and is now very tender to the touch; the corresponding spot, on the opposite side, has a large scar uncovered by hair; there is a large deep scar, 3½ inches long, on the left side of the lower jaw; several of her teeth are broken out; the back of her left hand has been branded with a heated flat-iron; the little finger of her right hand, with a portion of the bone that it connected with, has been cut off; the abdomen bears the mark of a large letter 4 inches long in one way and 2½ inches in another, also branded in with a hot iron; her ankles are scarred, and the soles of her feet are all covered with little round marks apparently inflicted by some sharp instrument, which she accounts for by stating that she was obliged to walk over hackles used for hackling flax; her back and person are literally covered over with scars and marks, now healed, evidently produced by the lash. Altogether, she presents a most pitiable appearance.

"JOHN REDDY, M.D."

"The poor woman, who has, since she left Texas, travelled under the name of Lavina Bell (the name then given her by Polly Whirl) is still very ill, but is receiving every medical attendance from Dr. Reddy, who will continue his attendance as long as necessary.



"In the foregoing account we have omitted many particulars communicated to us by the woman, the many *ruses* she practised, counterfeiting madness, inability to walk, &c., in order to throw off suspicion; but we have given the recital as tangible a form as we could from her account, which, coming from a poor ignorant negress, unable to read or write, was necessarily disconnected; nevertheless, after a thorough cross-examination, no contradiction could be discovered.

"And now, Canadians, what say ye? Shall the man, Anderson, be given up, under the requirement of a code which throws the cloak of legality over such acts, for slaying the man who would stay him from escaping from a bondage so fearful?"

### Reviews.

*The Great Cotton Question.* By S. Macmillan and Co., Cambridge; and 23 Henrietta Street, London. One Shilling.

THIS pamphlet, "addressed to the Upper and Middle Classes of Great Britain," has been penned in an earnest spirit, and with the highly laudable purpose of calling attention to the extent to which the people of this country are implicated in the maintenance of Slavery in the United States of America. The writer proposes the formation of a Society in Great Britain to be called "The Society for promoting the extinction of Slavery." The principle advocated is "compensation to the planter," the subscriptions to the extinction-fund to be a national one. A conference at Washington is also suggested, composed of the Southern cotton-growers, and of "the highest blood and noblest intellect from England, to talk over a matter affecting our mutual interests." The thorough earnestness of the writer inclines us rather to express a general opinion of the utter fallaciousness of his suggestions for the purpose contemplated, and there stop, than to dwell at length upon them, even to demonstrate their impractical character. Whatever may be urged against our national complicity with the system of Slavery, owing to the extent to which we are dependent upon the slave-grown cotton of America for the staple of our manufacturing industry and our exports, the conscience of the masses is not likely soon—if ever—to be awakened to the necessity, still less to the duty, of their contributing any portion towards the enormous sum which would be requisite to emancipate, by purchase, the four millions of slaves now distributed amongst the Slave States of America. Estimated at the very low rate of 50*l.* each,\* the sum would be equal to one-fourth of our

national debt. To cover it by a tax, it would take at the rate of nearly 7*l.* per head of our population, reckoning it at about 30,000,000 souls. Were the conscience of the masses alive to the iniquity of Slavery, and their practice consistent with their convictions, we should have them practising self-denial with regard to all articles the produce of slave-labour, and abstaining from their use. Such general virtue it is hopeless to expect; still more so, that each of these un-conscience-stricken consumers of slave produce will contribute 7*l.* towards the compensation-money it is proposed to hand over to the American slave-owners. We are quite satisfied that neither "a fairly adjusted property and income-tax" upon the middle and the upper classes, nor "forced contributions for this work" from the masses, is a feasible proposition; and though we must express satisfaction at finding this subject occupying the mind of the anonymous author of the pamphlet under review, it is clear to our comprehension that his zeal is far in advance of his judgment, and his motive far worthier of commendation than his project.

*A Journey in the Back Country.* By F. L. OLMSTED. London: S. Low and Son.

MR. OLMSTED is the author of two works relating to Slavery, which have obtained for him a deserved popularity in the United States, and in this country. His "Seaboard Slave States," from which we have largely quoted in our columns, and his "Journey through Texas" imparted a vast amount of information relating to the agricultural condition of the States—Slave and Free—through which he travelled, and of their population; and the facts he submitted were so striking, and were set forth with so total an absence of partisan feeling, that no abolitionist could rise from a perusal of these works, without an increased conviction of the ruinous tendency of the slave-labour system, while, on the other hand, they were calculated to impress even the advocates of Slavery with a sense of its unthriftiness. In his new work, "A Journey in the Back Country," Mr. Olmsted submits the results of his travels through what may—for economical purposes—be styled untrodden ground. His conclusions are, in every instance, adverse to Slavery; and his views are the more important, because enunciated by one who sallied forth on his explorations with—as he himself confirms—convictions of a totally opposite kind. In his previous publications, he confined himself to a bare recital of facts, leaving his readers to form their own conclusions. In the present one, he gives not only a collection of new facts, but records his convictions of the thorough viciousness of Slavery, even where masters are kind and

\* Mr. Olmsted values them at 500 dollars, or 100*l.* a head, and calls his a low estimate.—[E. A. S. R.]

slaves docile and industrious. His pictures of the condition of the "poor whites" are quite appalling, so great is the misery they reveal; and the results of his applications for entertainment, during his travels, completely explode the commonly received notion of the large hospitality of the South. Some of his illustrations on this head are highly amusing. He also demonstrates that cruelty is a necessary element of Slavery, and also cites numerous instances of its wanton infliction, as illustrative of the ferocious habits its constant exercise engenders. We shall confine ourselves at present to recommending this remarkable work, as one which will abundantly repay perusal, and add largely to the reader's stock of knowledge. In future Numbers we purpose to give a few extracts from the text, as specimens of the author's style and matter.

*A Chapter on Slavery*; presenting a Sketch of its Origin and History, with the reasons for its permission, and the probable manner of its removal. By the Rev. O. PRESCOTT HILLIER. London: Hodson and Son; and New York and Boston.

THE above is the very long and elaborate title of a small book, which, in its 180 pages, contains as much false philosophy, untruth, and special pleading in favour of the hugest iniquity in existence, as it has ever been our misfortune to peruse. The writer defends Slavery as a God-ordained institution; and maintains that it is the only condition the negro race can fill, out of Africa, and advocates the deportation to Liberia, not only of the entire slave-population of the Southern States, but of the free people of colour in all the States. The most deplorable feature in the work is the author's manifest, thorough earnestness. He writes from conviction no doubt, but such doctrines as he professes only merit the loudest condemnation. He advances in support of his theories of race, and destiny of race, no argument or fact that has not been again and again controverted. The book has been sent to us, and we are obliged to the sender; but our advice to the reading public is, "shun it."

*The Mountain Prophet, the Mine, and other Poems.* By JOHN HARRIS. London: A Heylin.

JOHN HARRIS, the greater part of whose life has been spent as a labourer in the Cornish mines, is a true poet, who, in this little volume, presents undeniable claims to the favourable verdict of the critic, and to the esteem and honour of his fellow-countrymen.

An enthusiastic lover of nature, he finds inspiration for some of his sweetest lyrics amid the charms of the moor, the mountain, and the hedgerow; nor has he failed to find materials for the muse in the apparently uncongenial occupations of the miner's life. His sympathies with suffering humanity are wide and deep, and he writes of the toiling masses as one who has shared fully their privations, their sorrows, and their joys. The following is a pleasing specimen of his minor lyrics:

"THE PRAYING SLAVE GIRL.

"There is a land all beautiful,  
Where clearest waters flow,  
And tall trees murmur in the woods,  
And golden flowerets grow.  
But o'er it hangs a death-dark cloud  
As black as black can be,  
Whose funeral shadow falls upon  
The field of Slavery.

"Down in a hollow where the roe  
Bounds wild from rock to rock,  
A stately mansion stands, where dwell  
A planter and his flock.  
Oh, toiling slaves are tortured there  
With whip, and fire, and chain,  
And burning sighs roll up to heaven  
For vengeance on the slain.

"A colour'd maiden, free from guile,  
And gentle as the rain  
Which falls at leafy summer-time  
Upon the grassy plain,  
Came to her mistress sighing much,  
Who blushed not thus to rave:  
'A black maid with a face like yours  
Has not a soul to save.'

"But on the morrow as she toiled  
Among the sugar-trees,  
A heavenly voice came on her ear,  
Borne by the passing breeze;  
And as it floated through her hair  
And kiss'd the slave-dress'd sod,  
It seemed to whisper everywhere,  
'Oh give thy heart to God!'

"So by a weeping waterfall  
She prayed to him above;  
And soon the Holy Spirit came,  
And fill'd her heart with love.  
Alike the black, white, bond, and free,  
May hear the Saviour's call:  
No skins affect the Holy One:  
His grace is free for all.

"And when in after days the lash  
Was drinking her hot blood,  
And crushing her worn frame to earth,  
Because she pray'd to God;  
The black maid's spirit bounded high  
On wings of silvery light,  
And joined the throngs of Paradise  
In robes of purest light."